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in working out a complex organization after twenty years of near-exclusion from public administration, as well as to delay in securing the approval of Frank and Hitler. On April 13–15, 1940, however, representatives of Ukrainian groups were able to meet openly in Cracow as a steering committee, and in early June this body was formally recognized by Frank as the Ukrainian Central Committee.[13]

The accomplishment was a considerable one, although on paper the new body was extremely limited in its function which, in accordance with Hitler's injunction, was defined as the improvement of the welfare of the Ukrainian population of the Generalgouvernement. For this purpose, the committee was granted the right to prepare a budget covered in part by allocation of funds from the treasury of the Generalgouvernement and was allowed to direct a network of Aid Committees throughout the Ukrainian ethnographical area. Among the more important formal functions of the organization was the distribution of aid received from philanthropic agencies in the United States and from the International Red Cross.[14] As is usually the case with Ukrainian organizations working under the shadow of arbitrary foreign regimes, however, the formal aspect of its activity was not the most important. Officially, the committee had no control over education, but through its relations with the German authorities it was able to exert great influence on the selection of teachers and the provision of instructional facilities. Through its control of welfare funds, it was able to facilitate the attendance of numerous children at the Ukrainian schools.[15] Thus it rendered an important contribution to the reinvigoration of Ukrainian cultural life throughout the area.

This educational activity was carried on in close connection with the development of a Ukrainian press. The November conference, in addition to laying the groundwork for a central representative body, had founded (also under Dr. Kubiiovych's direction) a large-scale publishing agency which issued a series

[13] *Entryklopediia Ukrainoznavstvo* (Encyclopedia of Things Ukrainian), eds. Volodymyr Kubiiovych and Zenon Kuzelia (Munich: Naukove Tovarystvo im. Shevchenka, 1949), pp. 580–82.

[14] *Ibid.*

[15] Interview 9.

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of new school texts in Ukrainian, as well as popular editions of Ukrainian works.[16] Still more important, it began the publication of a newspaper which stood head and shoulders above any other Ukrainian publication in the German-dominated areas. *Krakivs'ki Visti* (Cracow News, as it was named after the Germans forbade the use of "Ukrainian" in the title) was one of the few papers which did not become a party organ but consistently served as a forum for a broad variety of Ukrainian viewpoints. Moreover, it was the only paper of this nature which possessed considerable material resources and attracted numerous contributions from writers of real talent. It was subjected to a censorship stricter than that inflicted on Ukrainian papers in Greater Germany (although much less severe than that of the papers later established under German rule farther east); nevertheless, it was able to reflect a considerable range of Ukrainian life and thought. As a result it is an invaluable witness of the events of the war years.

From the standpoint of Ukrainian national interests, the favorable policy of the Germans toward the group's cultural development was particularly valuable in enabling it to regain some of the ground lost under the Polish repression. It would take a lengthy volume to detail the ways in which the Ukrainians were able to improve their situation in this respect during the early war years. A single statistic will suffice, however, to indicate the general nature of the gains made. In the school year 1942–43 there were 4,173 Ukrainian-language schools in the Generalgouvernement,[17] while on the corresponding territory before 1939 there were only 2,510—of which only 457 were exclusively Ukrainian.[18] The most marked advance took place in the Chelm area, where, in the autumn of 1939, a large influx of intellectuals fleeing Soviet rule in eastern Galicia brought a new vigor to the cultural life of the Ukrainian community.[19]

[16] *Krakivs'ki Visti*, January 2, 1942, p. 3.

[17] This refers of course to the enlarged Generalgouvernement, which included eastern Galicia. It is, however, indicative of an extension of the Ukrainian educational system which was if anything even more pronounced in the areas west of the San and the Bug.

[18] P. Isaiiv, article on Ukrainian schools in the Generalgouvernement during the Second World War, *Entsyklopediia Ukrainoznavstva*, p. 952; Buell, p. 279. The remainder were "mixed" schools which Buell says were given over to Polish teachers.

[19] Iurii (George) Tarkovych, "Zabuti Zemli" (Forgotten Lands), *Krakivs'ki Visti*, May 10, 1942, p. 1.

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It was much more difficult to secure a predominant place for the nationalist ideology in the schools. As is usually the case in nationalist indoctrination in the schools, the efforts were concentrated upon the teaching of history.[41] This was especially important, since the justification of the Ukrainian independence movement is largely based upon the conception of a proud history distinct from that of the people of Moscow. Naturally enough, no Soviet textbooks were acceptable for the teaching of history from this point of view or from the general standpoint of eradicating Communist indoctrination. To some extent the gap was filled by books published in the year preceding the Soviet war by the educational press of the Ukrainian Central Committee in Cracow.[42] Some texts were printed by the cultural department of the Kiev city administration. An amateurish effort was made also by certain OUN-B organizers to print locally a new version of Ukrainian history with an introduction of their own composition.[43] In view of the great material shortages and the brief time available, however, the lack of printed materials could not be made good. Consequently, a great deal depended on securing the proper teachers. To what extent the many thousands employed in the schools adhered to the nationalist doctrine is of course impossible to determine, but a number of purely indigenous formulations of nationalist concepts to be inculcated in the schools attest to the strength of nationalist feeling. The head of the Mariupol' school system proposed to stress the native language, love of the fatherland, and respect for elders; the educational ideology advocated by the group of young men who reorganized life in Krivoi Rog was instillation of Cossack ideals, the code of the Zaporozhian Sich, which was to lead to a spiritual, moral, and physical regeneration.[44]

Since the formal school program was largely confined to young children, great efforts were also concentrated on developing a voluntary system of adult education. The Prosvita societies had

Visti, June 5, 1942, pp. 3–4; *Krakivs'ki Visti*, January 27, 1943, p. 4, quoting D. Nitsenko in *Nova Ukraïna* (Kharkov).

[41] Prykhod'ko in *Krakivs'ki Visti*, June 5, 1942, pp. 3–4.

[42] Druzhynnyk in *Krakivs'ki Visti*, October 10, 1941, p. 2.

[43] Zynovii Matla, *Pivdenna pokhidna hrupa* (The Southern Task Force) (Munich: Tsitsero, 1952), p. 28.

[44] *Krakivs'ki Visti*, September 29, 1942, p. 2; November 15, 1941, p. 2; and November 18, 1941, p. 3 (referring to an article in *Dzvin* [Krivoi Rog], September, 1941).

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teachers in the gymnasium and therefore possessed "higher qualifications"; and these teachers showed "active or passive resistance" to Ukrainization. In this district, as in many others, the complaint was made that the schools lacked Ukrainian text-books and other such reading materials.[16]

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These difficulties were gradually being overcome. By 1924 the publication of text-books and children's literature in Russian had almost ceased in the Ukraine, and the publishing houses were concentrating on Ukrainian materials.[17] Ukrainian was being taught in all pedagogical schools and teacher-training courses.[18] The results of this step were apparent in 1925. In Chernigov province, for example, 67 percent of the teachers had mastered Ukrainian, and the proportion of Ukrainian schools — which then stood at 54 percent — was being raised as rapidly as the teachers who had recently learned Ukrainian could be transferred to the districts where they were needed.[19]

During 1925 and 1926 the whole process of Ukrainization was raised to the status of a "high-pressure (*udarnaja*) campaign. "Attention was directed even to the *crèches* because, as one writer explained, the early years of a child's life are of the utmost significance in his linguistic development.[20] But a report from Chernigov in 1926 stated that the teachers were agitating among the peasantry against the Ukrainization of the schools; they were "striving with all their forces to discredit the Ukrainian language, to arouse the peasants to adopt resolutions against Ukrainizing the schools, and so on."[21] This was denied by the school officials in the region from which the report emanated,[22] but similar items of news came from other regions. One writer cited a specific teacher in the Don Basin: although she was supposed to teach the Ukrainian language as a separate subject, she could hardly speak it and she referred to it as "a terribly ugly and crude language."[23] Another reporter, again from Chernigov, produced evidence to illustrate the hostility of both parents and teachers: because of this hostility a region with an overwhelmingly Ukrainian population contained thirty-five Russian schools, one Ukrainian and one mixed school.[24]

[16] See *ibid.*, Mar. 4, 1924, Mar. 5, 1924.
[17] *Ibid.*, Mar. 5, 1924. [18] *Ibid.*, Oct. 28, 1923.
[19] *Kommunist* (organ of the Central Committee and of the Kharkov Provincial Committee of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of the Ukraine), Mar. 21, 1925.
[20] *Proletarska Pravda* (organ of the Kiev Regional Committee of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of the Ukraine, of the Kiev Regional Executive Committee and of the Kiev Regional Trade-Union Council), Aug. 26, 1926.
[21] *Ibid.*, June 2, 1926. [22] *Ibid.*, July 25, 1926.
[23] *Ibid.*, Sept. 26, 1926. [24] *Ibid.*, June 2, 1926.

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517 156 E214 Kiyev, Khar'kov and Odessa are the most important centers of East Ukrainian intellectual life. It is there that most of the Ukrainian books, periodicals and newspapers are published. Besides that, the Ukrainian tongue is also printed in many smaller cities. Many of the Soviet Ukrainian authors glorify present conditions; these are the interpreters of Communism, the worshipers of machines and idols. But there are also others, like Khvylovy, who in truthful pamphlets derided the state of affairs, the proletarian wirepullers, their ingenuousness, their venality and their eagerness to work their way up, authors who write with a nationalistic purpose, who are "exposed" and then, like Khvylovy, come to an unfortunate end. "Experts maintain that even in the works of the Ukrainian Communist writers, especially the younger ones, the national feeling cannot be hidden, that an inner schism appears in their works. They do not actually belong to proletarian literature which has remained inwardly foreign to them. How could it be otherwise with such a past!" (56) /Facing page 104/

56. Zalozieckyj, ibid.

439 /Map VIII: Grain Export from the Soviet Ukraine and North Caucasus (Average for 1927/1928) This map differentiates between actual Soviet Ukraine and the North Caucasus regions. Export to foreign countries is insignificant compared to supplies sent to the Greater Russian areas of the Soviet Union situated in the forest belt./ /Key: Grain: ⊗ from Soviet Ukraine, ● from the North Caucasus./

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Trapping Souls

798 On Sunday, May 29, 1939 a unique event took place in the church of St. Peter in Rome:

661 pared with that which remained to the Ukrainians
648 in Poland. The old cultural city on the Dniepr was experiencing a new efflorescence; 70% of all students in Soviet Ukraine were attending Ukrainian schools. There had been nothing like
[214] it since the days of the Cossacks. /115/ Between
[217] 1918 and 1928 the Academy of Sciences published 888 works and numerous libraries were founded. (60) Hundreds of newspapers, periodicals and

60. Tisserand: The Ukraine, Life of a People, page 283.

pamphlets enlightened Ukrainians eager for knowledge in their mother tongue, and poetry and belles-lettres had reached a very high level. But soon black shadows were to fall on this brilliance.

Not yet satisfied with the results of the
661 policy of Ukrainization - in 1929 only 36% of
665 the officials were Ukrainians, the rest Jews and Russians (61) - the Central Committee of the

61. Fedenko: Lectures on the Question of Nationalities in the U.S.S.R., page 17.

Communist Partv of the Ukraine decided at the end of December, 1929, to intensify the process of nationalization. Especially the working classes were to take an active part in Ukrainian cultural life; Ukrainian theaters were to put on regular performances in the industrial areas; there were to be "Ukrainization cells" formed in the factories, the high union posts and the leading positions in the cooperatives were to be held by Ukrainians, and adherence to the course of nationalization of the administrative system was to be supervised. In this manner the cities were to be Ukrainized. The Commissar of People's Education, Skrypnyk, the successor of Shumskyj, successfully sought both to disseminate Ukrainian literature